

THE

American Freedman.

[Address, 76 John Street; or P. O. Box 5,733.]

VOL. I.

NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER, 1866.

No. 6.

The American Freedmans Union Commission,

76 John Street, New York City.

"The object of this Commission is the relief, education, and elevation of the Freedmen of the United States, and to aid and co-operate with the people of the South, without distinction of race or color, in the improvement of their condition upon the basis of industry, education, freedom, and Christian morality. No school or depot of supplies shall be maintained from the benefits of which any shall be excluded because of color."—ART. II. CONSTITUTION.

..... President.	Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT, Gen. Sec.,	} 76 John St., N. Y. P. O. Box 5,733.
Rev. Jos. P. THOMPSON, D.D., N. Y.,	J. MILLER McKIM, Cor. Sec.,	
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston,	GEO. C. WARD, Esq., Treas.,	
CHARLES G. HAMMOND, Chicago,	FRANCIS G. SHAW, New York, Chairman Ex. Com.	

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

New England Branch - - - -	Not yet appointed.
New York Branch - - - -	FRANCIS GEORGE SHAW, HENRY A. DIKE, NATHAN BISHOP.
Pennsylvania Branch - - - -	FRANCIS R. COPE, SAMUEL S. WHITE, GEORGE WHIFFLE.
Baltimore Branch - - - -	HUGH L. BOND, F. ISRAEL, CHAS. W. BOND.
North-western Branch - - - -	R. W. PATTERSON, S. B. GOOKINS, M. D. C. CRAWFORD.
Western Branch - - - -	H. M. STORRS, R. S. RUST, LEVI COFFIN.
Cleveland Branch - - - -	JOSEPH PERKINS, H. B. KNIGHT, H. B. SPELMAN.
Michigan Branch - - - -	WILLIAM HOGARTH, SUPPLY CHASE, DAVID PLUMB.
Pacific Department - - - -	Not yet appointed.

DISTRICT OFFICES—NORTH.

New England - - - -	8 Studio Building, Boston - - - -	Rev. J. H. CHAPIN, Secretary.
New York - - - -	76 John Street, New York - - - -	Rev. W. G. HAWKINS, Secretary.
Pennsylvania - - - -	424 Walnut Street, Philadelphia - - - -	ROBERT R. CORSON, Secretary.
Maryland - - - -	5 and 7 Tyson's Building, Baltimore - - - -	Rev. F. ISRAEL, Secretary.
Northwestern - - - -	25 Lombard Block, Chicago - - - -	Rev. J. M. WALDEN, D.D., Secretary.
Western - - - -	Cincinnati - - - -	Rev. R. S. RUST, D.D., Secretary.
Northern Ohio - - - -	Cleveland - - - -	L. F. MELLE, Secretary.
Michigan - - - -	Detroit - - - -	Rev. S. CHASE, Secretary.
Pacific - - - -	302 Montgomery St., San Francisco, Cal. - - - -	Rev. O. C. WHEELER, Gen. Agent.

THE AMERICAN FREEDMAN.

76 JOHN STREET, N. Y. CITY.

THIS journal is published as the central organ of the Freedmans Union Commission, for the benefit of the Branches and the information of all who are interested in the work of education in the South.

Copies will be furnished *without charge* to any Branch of the Commission for distribution in connection with their organs, or for such other use as may best subserve the interests of their work. Communications should be addressed to the General Secretary, Rev. LYMAN ABBOTT, 76 John Street, New York City.

The following persons have promised occasional contributions to its pages:

Maj.-Gen. HOWARD, Washington.
Hon. HUGH L. BOND, Baltimore.
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Boston.
Prof. J. HAYES, D.D., Chicago.
Rev. R. J. PARVIN, Philadelphia.

Rev. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, New York.
Rev. E. H. CANFIELD, D.D., Brooklyn.
Rev. JOHN PARKMAN, Boston.
Rev. LEONARD BACON, D.D., New Haven.

The American Freedman.

THE FREEDMEN'S SCHOOLS—THEIR SUPPORT.

WE give in another column, in a published letter of Gen. Howard, the statistics of the schools which have been maintained under the supervision of the Bureau during the past year. It does not appear in this letter by what means these schools have been supported, and there are many who have no clear idea of the relation which the Bureau sustains to them. By many there is a vague impression that the U. S. Government has undertaken the work of education; and that the necessity for the continuance of private philanthropy has therefore ceased. Such is not the case. The schools among the freedmen are carried on under the general superintendence of the Bureau officers. They report regularly to the Commissioner, through his subordinates. They are dependent on him for protection. They are accordingly known as Bureau schools. But the Bureau has no means at its disposal to support them. In some few instances a local tax has been laid which yields a partial support. But in the main they are dependent altogether upon voluntary philanthropy. Of the 1386 teachers reported by the Commissioner as engaged in this work, 760, or considerably over half, were supported by this Commission and its branches. And of the remainder, a large proportion were sustained by the different Missionary Societies which are more or less engaged in this work. Only as the public continue their contributions, only as the benevolent societies of the North are sustained, can the work continue.

The passage of the new Bureau bill and the appropriations under it have, perhaps, tended to increase the popular misapprehension in this respect, and partisan presses and leaders have not been wanting who have endeavored to make political capital out of the false assertion that the people are taxed to educate the negro. Such is not the case. For educational privileges the negro is no less dependent on private and voluntary effort than before. The only clauses of the act which relate to this subject are the following:

SECTION 12.—The Commissioner shall have power to seize, hold, use, lease, or sell all buildings and tenements, and any lands appertaining to the same, as were formerly held under color of title by the late so-called Confederate States, and not heretofore disposed of by the United States, and any buildings or lands held in trust for the same by any person or persons, and to use the same, and appropriate the proceeds derived therefrom, to the education of

freed people; and whenever the Bureau shall be withdrawn, the States which have provision for the education of their citizens, without distinction of color, shall receive the sum remaining unexpended of such sales or rentals, which shall be distributed among said States for educational purposes in proportion to their population.

SECTION 13.—The Commissioner of this Bureau shall at all times co-operate with the private benevolent associations of citizens and of freedmen, and with agents and teachers duly accredited and appointed by them; and shall hire or provide by lease buildings for purposes of education, whenever such associations shall, without cost to the Government, provide suitable teachers and means of instruction; and he shall furnish such protection as may be required for the safe conduct of such schools.

The first of these sections alone gives the Commissioner any funds for general educational purposes, and these only such as may come into his hands from the sale or rental of property belonging to the late so-called *Confederate Government* and not already disposed of—a very uncertain and limited source of income. The second section, by its express terms, indicates that it was the expectation of Congress to depend upon private benevolent associations for teachers and means of instruction. In brief, they regard this educational work as philanthropic, not governmental, and properly leave it for voluntary effort.

The statute is plain enough. But, that there might be no possible room for misapprehension, the General Secretary wrote to the Commissioner requesting an official interpretation, to which he has received the following reply:

BUREAU OF REFUGEES, FREEDMEN, AND
ABANDONED LANDS,

Washington, Aug. 18, 1866.

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, Sec. A. F. U. C.

DEAR SIR: Your letter through Judge Bond is received. While Government aid will be cheerfully extended, in accordance with the law, to the different benevolent organizations, it will be noticed that this aid does not dispense with the absolute necessity for such organizations to raise money, in order to send teachers and missionaries into the field, and to defray their expenses.

The appropriation in reference to schools was simply for the rental and repairs of school-buildings.

Something may be eventually obtained and rendered available under the law, from the property called "Confederate;" but the amount is uncertain and not available at present.

I trust every thinking man will see the absolute necessity of pressing the subject of education; using every possible endeavor to have, during the coming year, an extended and thorough work.

Very respectfully yours,

O. O. HOWARD,
Maj.-Gen. Com.

Is it necessary for us to add anything to the earnest recommendation with which Gen. Howard closes this letter? The schools among the freedmen are, for the present, almost wholly dependent on voluntary philanthropy and benevolence. The Southern whites lack the means, even if they had the inclination, to carry on the work. The Southern blacks recognize their need of education, and gladly do all in their power to sustain the schools. But their all is little. The Bureau has the power to supervise and to facilitate the work, but not the means to prosecute it. If the nine hundred and sixty-four schools of last year are to be maintained, the philanthropy of the North must maintain them. If the thirteen hundred and eighty-six teachers are to resume their labors, the philanthropy of the North must send them. If the ninety thousand eager children are not to be turned back again to ignorance, the philanthropy of the North must continue to educate them. Not a teacher can withdraw from this work, not an auxiliary discontinue its labors, not a contributor diminish his contributions, but that the effect will be sensibly, immediately, and bitterly felt in the Southern States. We have enlisted for the war. Let no true soldier withdraw until victory is assured.

Five hundred dollars will support a teacher. Do not wait for an agent. Organize—select the teacher you wish to commission, and send her name and the money to the nearest District Secretary.

THE FREEDMEN'S BUREAU.

We publish in another column the closing part of the report recently made to the Secretary of War by Generals Steedman and Fullerton. We present this concise summing up of the results of their investigations not as a fair and impartial account of the operations of the Bureau, but as a brief and striking summary of the most cogent objections which the avowed opponents of the Bureau are able to bring to bear against it. We desire that our readers, most of whom it is safe to assume are in favor of its continuance for the present, should know what the advocates of its abolition have to say against it.

One suggestion of this report we are able most heartily to endorse—its criticism of what is known as the contract system:

"The only remedy against a white man for a breach of contract is a suit for damages, and we can see no reason why the same remedy should not be applied and conceded in the case of the black man. The freedman has nothing to sell but his labor, and we are strongly of the opinion that he ought to be permitted to obtain for it the highest price it will bring. If he is a *freeman*, it is neither just nor lawful for any person to assume control of him, and certainly not more just

or lawful for an officer of the Freedman's Bureau to do so than for a Southern planter."

Right! And if Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton could only induce the Southern legislatures to incorporate this sound and healthy principle into their legislation, they would do far more toward securing the abolition of the Bureau than by any caustic criticisms on the conduct of particular officers.

The whole system of compulsory contracts is founded in a radically false idea. It originated in the notion that the negro would not work, and that he must be compelled to work. Under this notion, bred of slavery and disseminated by artful inoculation at the North, the price of the negro's labor was fixed by a Bureau officer, and he was sometimes morally, sometimes absolutely compelled to make a contract for the year accordingly. Possibly, in the anarchy which first follows war there may have been a temporary necessity for such a system in some localities. But if this was ever the case it has long since ceased to exist. No other lash is needed to drive the workman to the field than hunger. No other law can so well adjust the proper rate of wages as the law of demand and supply.

The negro is a *free* man. As such he is entitled to all the rights of free working men in the North. He has a right to choose his own employment, to select his employer or work without one if he can, to determine for himself what rate of compensation he is willing to work for, and finally not work at all if he does not choose to do so, and can support himself without. If there is danger of idleness becoming chronic, the propagator of pauperism and crime, a danger really apprehended at first by many, the community has a right to protect itself by a vagrant act. But such an act should apply not specially to freedmen but to idle men, black and white alike. If the negro makes a contract he should keep it. There is no reason why a rise in the price of labor should absolve him from his obligation. The fact that laborers on the Georgia railroad are receiving \$1 50 a day is no reason why laborers on the plantation should receive more than \$10 a month, if this is their contract price. If labor had fallen the planter would not be released. It has risen. The laborer is not released. But if in violation of good faith the freedman breaks his contract, he should suffer no other penalties than such as would be visited upon a white laborer for the same offense. A breach of contract is no blacker in a black man than in an Anglo-Saxon. The ball and chain, the \$50 fine, the selling of the freedman's service to the highest bidder,

the apprentice system, in short, any form of compulsory labor, however coated and disguised, is radically wrong; none the better incorporated in a Bureau order than in Southern legislation.

We do not want a Bureau to supersede the principles of free labor, but to maintain and apply those principles. Whenever they are recognized by Southern sentiment, incorporated into Southern laws, and enforced by Southern courts, none will rejoice more than the friends of the freedmen that the necessity for a Bureau no longer exists. But so long as South Carolina forbids to her colored people every employment except that of menial service and plantation labor, so long as Mississippi drives them to the plantations and maintains a fugitive slave law for the recapture and return of such as escape, so long as we are compelled to read such testimony as that which we give in another column of the ill-treatment of the workmen by their employers in Georgia, where Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton inform us the laws of the State "place the negro in all respects on a perfect equality with the white man as to civil rights;" so long, especially, as the freedmen are left without any voice in the enactment of the laws and the election of those who are to interpret and execute them, so long shall we demand that, either through a Bureau or the U. S. courts, or both, the Federal Government continue to guard them from partial and class legislation, support them in those rights of labor which Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton seem to recognize, enforce the contracts which are made with them, and protect them from the infliction of those punishments which are among the remnants of slavery, and are utterly inconsistent with the condition of free men.

The other criticisms offered upon the Bureau by this report are not important. They are mainly two: 1st, That particular officers have been guilty of irregularities and positive corruption; 2d, That the same system is not pursued in all the States.

The first furnishes abundant reason why the guilty or incompetent parties should, on conviction, be removed; but none, why the department should be abolished. No one doubts the existence of custom-house frauds, but they have not hitherto been considered a sufficient reason for the abolition of the custom-house. We have yet to see any evidence tending to implicate any of the prominent officers of the Bureau. For the most part their integrity is not even by implication impugned. That among their numerous subordinates there should be incompetent and unworthy men is not strange. But we

very much doubt whether any department of the Government, which has the handling of money, could bear as well as the Bureau has done a scrutiny as severe as that to which it has been subjected.

Two inspectors, avowedly opposed to the whole Bureau policy, spend over four months in a careful scrutiny of its affairs, and publish to the world every tolerably well-grounded suspicion of peculation. The result is to be seen in the fact that in the five States of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas, out of over two hundred and sixty officers, they present specific charges of corruption against seven, all told—charges be it remembered as yet uninvestigated and unproved. This is surely a very narrow foundation on which to build a general accusation of corrupt maladministration demanding the abolition of the Bureau.

As to the second point, the want of uniformity of system, this is a merit not a fault. The most ardent advocates of the continuance of the Bureau account it simply a *necessary* evil. If in one State the courts do not afford the freedmen protection, the Bureau officers must exercise judicial functions. If in another State the courts are courts of impartial justice, there is no reason why the anomaly of a military tribunal should be maintained. Thus, the policy of each Assistant Commissioner is necessarily determined largely by the sentiments and conduct of the community in which he is placed. In no one respect has General Howard shown his peculiar fitness for the place he has so well filled more than in the fact that he has freed the Bureau from that inexorable routine which ordinarily characterizes military departments, and left it very much to the discretion of well-selected Assistant Commissioners.

We recommend our readers to give this report of Messrs. Steedman & Fullerton a careful perusal, and when it is finished to read upon the other side the testimony of the freedmen themselves, in the abstract of the proceedings of the Equal Rights Association of Georgia, which we give in another column.

P. S.—Since writing the above, our attention has been called to a published letter of General Howard, which we give in another column. It is in no sense a defense of the Bureau, and is apparently written without any reference to the objections urged to it by Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton; but it gives, in a compact form, a partial account of what the Bureau did last year, and so, incidentally, some of the reasons which necessitate its continuance.

Monthly Record of Executive Action.

[Our object in this article is to afford, for the information of the Branches, a condensed statement of the most important action of the Executive Officers during the preceding month.]

ORGANIZATION OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The new Executive Committee of the American Freedmen's Union Commission held its first meeting at New York City on the 1st of August.

No regular representatives had been elected by the New England Branch, but Messrs. Wm. Lloyd Garrison and J. H. Chapin were present as special representatives. The names of the representatives of the other Branches are given on the title-page.

The By-laws of the former Executive Committee were read, and with some alterations adopted. They are published on another page.

Mr. F. G. Shaw was unanimously chosen chairman, and Mr. J. Miller McKim, clerk.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

At the meeting held in Cleveland in May last, a Special Committee of five were appointed to prepare and lay before the public a suitable address upon the subject of the relations which this Commission sustains to the religious sects, and its duty in regard to religious instruction.

This address we lay before our readers in this number of the Journal. It will be found on page 94.

It has been prepared with some care, has been submitted to and received the approval of other leading members of the Executive Committee, and may be regarded as an official and authoritative expression of the views of the Commission upon the subject on which it treats. As such we commend it to the careful perusal of our readers, and especially we invite to it the attentive consideration of the clergy. The question which it discusses, the best means of securing the education, upon a broad and permanent foundation, of all classes at the South, especially the freedmen, is one which certainly demands the attentive consideration of every patriot. This address has also been printed in pamphlet form for distribution, and will be furnished to any of our readers upon application. Any Branch desiring any number for distribution, is requested to make an immediate application, as the paper is not stereotyped.

CO-OPERATION WITH THE BUREAU.

Immediately after the passage of the Bureau bill, the Secretaries addressed a letter to Gen. O. Howard, proffering the co-operation of the Commission and its Branches, and asking for

information relative to school-buildings and other facilities. At the same time a letter was addressed to the different Branches, asking what number of teachers they could severally put in the field. On the reading of these letters and the replies, Hon. Hugh S. Bond and Rev. F. Israel were appointed a Special Committee to confer with General Howard on the subject of co-operation with the Bureau. This Committee reports a probable increase of facilities in the way of school buildings; but, as will be seen by reference to the Bureau bill, as published in our last, the Government depends altogether upon benevolent societies to supply teachers.

GENERAL AGENTS.

The passage of the Bureau bill, and their probable assumption of the work of supervision and inspection heretofore carried on by the Commission, rendered it in the judgment of the Executive Committee inexpedient to renew the engagement with the General Superintendents of the Commission another year. The system of General Superintendents, therefore, hitherto maintained will now probably be superseded by the Bureau Government Agents.

ANNUAL REPORT.

The Constitution provides for an annual report. In order to gather the materials for a full and official statement of the work of the Commission and its Branches, the General Secretary has forwarded to all of them a blank report of their operations for the year, to be filled out and returned to him. A prompt response is earnestly solicited.

COMMISSION MEETING.

On motion of Hon. Hugh S. Bond, the Executive Committee voted to call a meeting of the Commission in Baltimore for the second Wednesday in October. A president will be elected at that time. It is desired to secure a full meeting, not only for the purposes of mutual conference in respect to the FALL and WINTER work, but also to combine in a public gathering—the first one of the kind in a Southern city. Delegates are requested to send their names to Rev. F. Israel, 5 and 7 Tyson's Block, Baltimore, Md., as early as practicable, that accommodations may be provided for them.

LOCATIONS FOR SCHOOLS.

A copy of THE FREEDMAN for May, which contains a list of all the schools of the Commission and their locations, has been sent to the Bureau officers in the Atlantic States, with a request for information as to what school-buildings can be secured through the Bureau

for their continuance. In Virginia a circular has been issued by the Bureau, a copy of which is given below, for the purpose of ascertaining the locations where it is best to establish schools. A similar circular has been prepared and issued in North Carolina, by the Rev. F. Brewer, for the Commission, and is endorsed by the Assistant Commissioner.

RICHMOND, VA., July 18, 1866.

CIRCULAR No. 23.

Superintendents will immediately cause a thorough inspection of their Districts to be made, for the purpose of ascertaining the locations where it is practicable and desirable to establish schools.

A list of these localities will be made, and answers to such of the following questions be made as may be pertinent to each case.

1. Probable number of pupils for day school?
2. What suitable buildings or rooms are available for school-rooms, specifying their size, whether they are Government buildings, or churches, or private property?
3. Can they be had rent free? And if not, what will be the rent per annum?
4. Condition as to state of repair, facilities for heating, repairs needed, if any, and the estimated cost of repairs?
5. Where new buildings will be required, state the best particular location, cost or rent of land for site, size of building required, materials recommended for the edifice, and estimated cost?
6. Will a teacher from abroad be required? If so, what arrangements may be relied on for teacher's board and lodging? Distance of teacher's lodgings from school-house? Cost of board per month?
7. How much will the local friends of the school do towards its maintenance? If books should be furnished at cost to those who are able to pay for them, and gratuitously to those who cannot pay, will the friends do all or either of the following:
 - a. Provide the school-house and pay the rent?
 - b. Make the necessary repairs upon it?
 - c. Furnish the room with seats, desks, and black-board?
 - d. Supply their own teacher and pay the salary?
 - e. In case a teacher is sent from abroad, will they defray the expense of board?
 - f. Will they furnish the fuel and lights for day and evening school and take care of school-room?
8. What Government buildings, or lands, or other property, is there which may be made available for school purposes? What is your recommendation concerning the same?
9. Give the name of one or more of the most responsible persons interested in the schools at each location where their establishment is recommended.
10. What is the state of public sentiment with reference to schools for freedmen? Is it becoming more or less favorable?
11. Give any additional information of interest, and make any important practical suggestions that may occur to you in regard to the school work.

By order of Major-General A. H. TERRY.

Assistant Commissioner.

O. BROWN,

OFFICIAL: Bvt. Brig.-Gen'l and A. A. G.

THE GEORGIA EQUAL RIGHTS ASSOCIATION.

WHAT THE FREEDMEN THINK OF THE BUREAU—A LOYAL JOURNAL—SCHOOLS IN GEORGIA—THE FREEDMEN'S ACCOUNT OF THE CONDITION OF THE SOUTH.

THE report of a recent meeting of this Association, held in Augusta, Georgia, contains some matters of a general interest to our readers.

THE LOYAL GEORGIAN.

The Association has established a journal called the *Loyal Georgian*. It is devoted to the advocacy of Equal Rights. So far as we know, it is the only paper in the State committed to the advocacy of this radical doctrine. It has to maintain a hard struggle for existence. The enemies of the movement are as little friendly to free speech as of old. The friends of Equal Rights feel the imperative necessity of a public organ, but are without adequate means to sustain it. The freedmen having contributed of their little all they can, have sent Capt. J. E. Bryant, the President of the Association and the editor of the paper, to the North to secure contributions of funds to place the journal on a secure foundation. He comes warmly commended, not only by the Association itself, but by leading senators and representatives from Maine, his native State. We cordially commend his cause to the attention of our readers. The need of a loyal press in the South is not more evident than the necessity of assisting to sustain it by contributions from the North. This report of the action of the Association is condensed from the *Loyal Georgian*.

SCHOOLS IN GEORGIA.

Mr. Eberhart, State Superintendent of Freedmen's Schools, was introduced, and reviewed the progress of education under the Bureau since October last. He spoke of what had been done by the Aid and Missionary Societies of the North in educating both white and colored children in Georgia.

Five white schools with about 500 pupils have been maintained by the North in Atlanta.

In November, 1865, there were 56 colored schools, with 69 teachers and 3,600 pupils. These have steadily increased in number, until in June, 1866, there were 91 schools, 125 teachers, and about 8,000 pupils. He expressed the hope that much more would be done the coming school year, and urged the importance of education—that kind which embraces all that can develop man's better nature and fit him for the highest and every duty that devolves upon him as an accountable and immortal being—as

the sure means by which alone manhood, and all the rights of man, can be attained, by which alone justice and equity can be secured.

THE BUREAU.

What the freedmen think of the necessity of continuing the Bureau is apparent from the two following resolutions:

"Resolved, That we consider the Freedmen's Bureau, properly administered, essentially necessary to protect us in our present poor and weak condition, and we earnestly call upon the Government to continue it until public sentiment is more liberal, and we, by industry and economy, shall be able to provide for all our wants."

"Resolved, That we consider the Freedmen's Bureau the only protection we have against an unjust discrimination in the administration of the law by the civil courts."

CONDITION OF THE STATE.

Reports of the condition of the State were made to the Association from every county. They show a state of affairs which does not contrast favorably with the statement of Messrs. Steedman and Fullerton, that "the amended laws of Georgia are fully as liberal as those of any Northern State, and place the negro in all respects on a perfect equality with the white man as to his civil rights." They show too how ineffectual are laws without a moral sentiment to support them, and how ineffectual are all such expedients as the Bureau or even the Civil Rights bill, as substitutes for impartial suffrage. As the best method of conveying a picture of the condition of affairs in that State in which, perhaps, the freedmen are as well off as in any other, we give some extracts from the reports made to this Association. It is necessary to explain that in Georgia the policy has been pursued of appointing citizens of the state sub-agents of the Bureau. These sub-agents are called "Civil Bureau agents." There are one hundred and twenty-seven of them. They are paid by fees allowed for approving contracts and other official services.

PIKE COUNTY.—Getting on tolerably well. No murders. Some are driven away without pay. No schools. Two Sunday-schools. Colored people celebrated 4th of July; whites, by invitation, took part.

MERRIWATHER COUNTY.—Many dead bodies fished out of Flint River.

URSON COUNTY.—People driven away in great numbers without pay. Bureau agent no use. Refers everything to civil courts, where no justice is shown. One man beaten over the head and shot in May. Seven schools. Great need of books.

HANCOCK COUNTY.—Treatment bad. Some whipping. Some driven away without pay. Celebrated 4th of July. A few whites present. Bureau agent, Mr. Davis, addressed them. School-house fired but saved. One planter charged hands five dollars for the loss of the 4th of July. Planters make it a point to bring hands out in debt.

SUMNER COUNTY.—Doing tolerably well. Some

driven away without pay. Celebrated 4th of July. Some prominent white citizens addressed colored people. Two schools. Pupils had a May-day party. Wanted to carry United States flag. White people would not allow them. Mayor would not allow it.

CLARK COUNTY.—Things generally going well. Some complaints in the country. Many in great need of food—several motherless children with no permanent homes. People at Athens had a barbecue on 7th instant. Mayor and other prominent citizens present and addressed the freedmen in a very acceptable manner.

MORGAN COUNTY.—At present there is a tolerably good feeling existing. Many old and poor. Some little assistance given them by the whites. In Madison, on the 4th of July, a public dinner was given. Quite a number of whites, by invitation, participated. On Christmas two freedmen chased by a very respectable white young man, and one killed. Two school-houses burnt within a year.

BALDWIN COUNTY.—Want schools, but can get them only through the Yankees. Applied and got two teachers—good, kind, Christian ladies. Two Sunday schools.

BIBB COUNTY.—Cannot do without the Bureau. Captain Hill in Macon does his duty. Generally justice is done, as all colored people watch the courts—examine the laws for themselves. Jailor shot a colored man, killing him, for giving a prisoner in guard house a chew of tobacco. Was held to bail. Have not much to complain of in Bibb.

OGLETHORPE COUNTY.—A Mr. D. C. Smith, who has about 100 hands employed, has two or three of them every week or two stretched upon the ground and whipped. Has arranged so as to bring all in his debt. Very few freedmen in the county are paid for their labor. Quite a number of old infirm persons destitute and suffering. Officers and others search freedmen's houses without giving them any knowledge of their object, or presenting any legal authority.

JEFFERSON COUNTY.—People rather badly treated. Some whipping done, some tied up by thumbs, and dogs made to bite them while so tied. Some shot. If freedmen are acquitted by civil courts, cases are taken to Bureau Agent, who generally finds a true bill, and fines them, and compels them to work it out. Lawyer Wilkens is friendly to the freedmen, and tries to secure them justice. Civil Agent shot two freedmen—but not fatally. Agent has been removed. Present Agent appears disposed to do right, but the Bureau, with Southern men to administer it, is no protection. Planters generally manage to keep hands in debt.

WILKES COUNTY.—Some freedmen well treated—generally have bad treatment. Great deal of whipping—getting to be very common. Planters beginning now, since crops are partly gathered, to drive hands away to get rid of paying them. Bureau, as administered, no protection.

BURKE COUNTY.—One young man stabbed. Man who stabbed him was not arrested—no effort made to arrest him. House shot into, but fortunately no one hurt. On one plantation hands are whipped as in slavery. If any leave the civil agent of the Freedmen's Bureau arrests them and returns them to the employer, who puts balls and chains on them.

WARREN COUNTY.—Much complaint that employers refuse to pay wages when earned. Large numbers got no pay for last year's labor. Some whipping done. Bureau Agent not very efficient. Colored school shot

into by a white man within the past four months. Whites neither oppose nor assist in education. Freedmen generally working well. Rev. Wm. Harris deprived of his license as a preacher by the white Methodist Conference because of the interest he takes in the Equal Rights Association.

HANNAH COUNTRY.—White citizen teaching a school. House was stoned, but case reported to Bureau Agent, who gave proper protection. Agent tries to do his duty. Two men whipped. A crowd of white jay-hawkers—140 of them—take pistols and other arms from freedmen. Shot one freedman—put thirteen balls in him—for reporting some of their actions to the Bureau. First whipped his brother to make him tell where he was.

It is not agreeable to publish such a record as this. It would be far pleasanter to think better things of the South; it is far pleasanter to report the signs of improvement in popular feeling, as we are always glad to do. But we agree with Mr. Eberhardt, who said in this Convention, "So long as the deeds of bad men are not given to the public, they will continue not only to practise cruelty and fraud, but will escape the punishment due their crimes." The truth must be told, not merely agreeable truths. And the truth is that the effects of war and slavery combined have not yet sufficiently passed away to make it safe to leave the freedman with no other guardian than his late master. Are we not justified in the further deduction, that it will never be safe to leave him without representation in the government under which he lives?

We note very gladly the fact that in several instances the whites assisted the freedmen in their 4th of July celebrations; and the farther fact that from several counties, not here reported, it is simply stated that the freedmen are fairly treated and all things are comparatively satisfactory.

THE BUREAU—REPORT OF GENs. STEEDMAN AND FULLERTON.

GENs. STEEDMAN and Fullerton, after a four months' investigation into the operations of the Bureau, have presented, nominally to the Secretary of War, but really to the country, a final report. The closing part of this report contains a summary of their conclusions. As a concise statement of the strongest objections which the avowed opponents of the Bureau are able to present to its continuance, we give this summary to our readers, omitting, for the sake of brevity, two paragraphs which are only important as affording specific illustrations of their general charges. Some editorial comments on this report will be found in another column:

SUMMARY.

"In pursuing this investigation, which has now ex-

tended over four months, we have found extreme difficulty in complying with that portion of our instructions which requires us to report upon the operations of the Bureau and its mode of administration. The Bureau has no settled mode of administration. There is an entire absence of system or uniformity in its constitution. In one State its officers exercise judicial powers; in an adjoining State all cases are referred to the civil authorities; while in a third State the Bureau officers collect the cases and turn them over to the military provost courts to dispose of. In some departments the officers of the Bureau have attempted to regulate the rate of wages; one form of contract between employer and employed is prescribed in one State, while in another a different form is adopted. In Louisiana the expenses of the freedmen's schools have been wholly paid by the Government; in the other States the schools are partially self-supporting, and in Texas they are entirely so. In some localities the Bureau officers interfere arbitrarily between the planter and the freedmen in favor of the freedmen; in other localities the Bureau is used as a means of coercing the freedmen in favor of the planter. The expenditure of the Bureau varies as much as its mode of administration. In one state the expenses are over three hundred thousand dollars a year; in another State, with an equal population, the expenses are not more than fifty thousand. In some States the expenses have been met by taxes levied on and collected from people; in other States the cost is entirely borne by the United States Treasury.

"We found it impossible to investigate the accounts of the Bureau Quartermasters, for the reason that when the funds were received from taxes, rents, fines, and sale of abandoned property, there were no means of ascertaining the amounts received, except from the personal statement of the officers themselves. A quartermaster in the army, drawing his funds from the Government, has the amount charged up to him, and is obliged to account for it in his return; but the looseness of the administration of the Quartermaster's Department of the Bureau, and the absence of all checks upon the officers, give no security except the personal honesty of the men themselves. We examined the accounts of Brevet Brigadier-General Whittlesey, Bureau Quartermaster of the Department of the Mississippi, who satisfied us that he had honestly administered the affairs of his department, and had accounted for all money received by him, but whether his predecessor, who collected a large amount from taxes, rents, and sales, paid over to General Whittlesey all the money in his hands belonging to the Bureau, we were unable to determine. We do not make this statement to reflect upon that officer, against whom there were no charges, but to illustrate the looseness of the system.

"We are of opinion that at the close of the war, and for some time after the cessation of hostilities, the Freedmen's Bureau did good. The people of the South, having at first no faith in the negroes working under a free labor system, were desirous of getting rid of them, and during the summer of 1865 judicious Bureau and military officers did much toward restoring order and harmony, and inducing the people of the South to resume the cultivation of their plantations by employing the freedmen. Before the close of 1865 there was an entire revolution in the sentiments of the people of the South with regard to negro labor. A feeling of kindness sprang up towards the freedman, resulting, perhaps, mainly from the conviction that his labor was desirable and profitable, and the only

labor to be had. The necessity of the Bureau then ceased. Since then, while it has been beneficial in some localities, it has been productive, in the aggregate, of more harm than good. It has occasioned and will perpetuate discord as long as it exists, though administered by the purest and wisest men of the nation. The freedmen regard its presence as evidence that they would be unsafe without it, and the white people consider it an imputation upon their integrity and fairness; an espionage upon the official action of all their courts and magistrates, as well as upon the private conduct of their citizens. Both races are thus made suspicious and bitter by an agency which, in the present reorganized condition of civil government and society in the Southern States, is powerless to advance the interests of either.

"The best protection the freedman has in the South is the value of his labor in the market, and if he is left free to dispose of this, at all times, to the highest bidder, unshackled by contracts made for him by Bureau officers, no apprehensions need be felt for his safety or his success. If the freedmen could at this moment demand the wages which the high price of the products of the South would justify, one dollar per day and board would be the ruling wages, instead of ten or twelve dollars per month, the prices now paid. But they cannot take advantage of the demand for their labor; they are bound by contracts, enslaved for twelve months through the agency and influence of the Freedmen's Bureau. The hands on the Mississippi River steamboats were not required to make contracts, and they are getting forty dollars per month and their board for labor less exacting than that of a plantation negro. The freedmen on the Ogeechee and Savannah rivers are getting, on the rice plantations, from ten to fifteen dollars per month, under contract of the year, while the laborers employed on the Georgia Central Railroad, which runs between these streams, are getting \$1.50 a day. Some complaints were made to us by the planters on the Savannah River that their laborers were discontented, and did not work as required by their contracts. One of the planters, a practical, liberal-minded man, explained the cause of discontent to be the low wages at which the negroes were hired. He said, 'I can get hands enough, and good work done, too, by paying \$1 a day and rations, and I am paying that, and expect to pay even more. I can give \$3 a day and make money. The negro is going to make all he can out of his freedom, and he has a right to do so.' The enlightened policy advocated by this gentleman—a policy strongly in accordance with justice and sound political economy—is defeated by the contract system inaugurated and forced into practical operation by the officers of the Freedmen's Bureau. We met with instances of freedmen working for \$10 a month and rations, under yearly contracts sanctioned by the Bureau, while in the same field, doing the same work, other freedmen not under contracts were getting \$1 a day and rations. In all the large towns of the Mississippi Valley, during the months of May and June, planters were offering \$1 a day and rations for freedmen, while under the sanction of the Government, given by the officers and agents of the Bureau, thousands of freedmen were working under contract for \$10 per month. If the freedmen are left free to contract, the demand for their labor and competition among employers will secure them good wages and kind treatment. They will not contract with men who treat them harshly or fail to pay them, as is abundantly proven by the fact that many planters who treated their former slaves

cruelly are now unable to hire freedmen to work for them, and have been obliged to sell or lease their plantations.

"We are unable to discover why the simple rules which regulate and control the relations of labor and capital in the Northern States should not obtain as well in the South; why the National Government should permit the laboring man to sell his labor to the highest bidder in one section of the country and appoint an agent to sell it for him in another section. It is undoubtedly true that if the freed people of the South were not bound by contracts their wages would be at least fifty per cent. higher at this time than they are, and there would be less discontent among the freedmen than now exists, and far less duty for the agents to perform. Almost the only dissatisfaction existing at this time among the freedmen results from the low rate of wages at which they have been hired under the influence and with the approval of the agents of the Bureau. This discontent makes the freedmen unwilling to work, and their indolence provokes the planter, who not unfrequently resorts to violence to enforce his contract, and this makes business for the officer who sanctioned the contract. Investigation follows; resulting generally in finding the freedmen at fault for refusing to labor according to their contracts, and they are required to return to the plantation, while the planter is admonished to curb his temper. In some cases of this nature the contract is declared forfeited by the conduct of the planter, who goes away from the Bureau feeling that a decision has been made that the freedmen are not bound to fulfil their agreements. The fault—the cause of the difficulty—is in the contract, which has been unjustly forced upon the poor freedmen. It must not be inferred from what we have written that we are opposed to the freedmen contracting with the planters. By no means. We believe the very best thing they can do is to make contracts, either for a share of the crops or liberal wages, but we are opposed to agents of the National Government assuming to hire them out, prescribing the terms of service, and stipulating for the wages to be paid them. They are not free so long as any such control is exercised over them, nor can they ever receive just reward for their labor while they are compelled to hire within a given time for a specified term. In Mississippi and other States, freedmen were compelled, by orders from the officers of the Bureau, to enter into contracts within limited periods, which enabled all who wanted hands to get them at low wages, while, if the freedmen had not been interfered with, the demand for labor would have enabled them to secure just remuneration. It is a great error to suppose that the freedmen are not competent to enter into contracts for themselves. They are sharp at a bargain, know well what a good contract is, and are much better collectors than white people.

"The system of contracts now existing in the South and enforced by the Bureau is simply slavery in a new form. What is the difference to the negro whether he is sold for \$5 or \$5,000 for thirty years to thirty masters, or for thirty years to one master? It is involuntary servitude in either case, and a practical defeat of the Emancipation Proclamation of the lamented President Lincoln. If the freedman leaves work to seek employment at better wages, he is arrested as a vagrant by order of the Freedmen's Bureau, and put to labor on the roads, with ball and chain, as is proved by an order recently issued by General Scott, Assistant Commissioner for South Carolina.

If, fatigued from overwork, he desires to rest for a day, if he leaves the plantation to visit a relative or friend, it is made a penal offence, and a fine of \$50 is imposed, as will be seen by circular No. 14 of General Kiddoo, Assistant Commissioner for Texas, a copy of which is hereto annexed, marked "E." If he refuses to contract at all, he is arrested by the Bureau Provost-Marshal and sold for a few dollars to the nearest planter, as in the case of Captain Morse, of New Orleans, already referred to. The coercive policy adopted by the Bureau in this and other respects has been made a justification for the discriminating legislation of some of the Southern States. The only remedy against a white man for breach of contract is a suit for damages, and we can see no reason why the same remedy should not be applied and conceded in the case of the black man. The freedman has nothing to sell but his labor, and we are strongly of opinion that he ought to be permitted to obtain for it the highest price it will bring. If he is a freeman, it is neither just nor lawful for any person to assume control of him, and certainly not more just or lawful for an officer of the Freedmen's Bureau to do so than for a Southern planter.

Very respectfully, your obedient servants,

J. S. FULLERTON, Brigadier-General Vols.

JAMES B. STEEDMAN, Major-General Vols.

LETTER FROM MAJ-GEN. HOWARD—A YEAR'S STATISTICS.

GEN. HOWARD, Commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau, has written a letter in answer to questions propounded by a member of Congress, in which he gives a full and clear account of the operations of the Bureau for the past year.

After sketching the general plan of organization, he speaks as follows of

LABOR CONTRACTS.

Most of the freedmen throughout the South contracted to labor through the year 1865 for their old owners, through the instrumentality of the officers; and of course all the business of contracting and settling the innumerable questions arising at the close of the year between employers and employees must be settled before Bureau tribunals. You can get some idea of this task when I tell you that in Mississippi alone contracts affecting the interests of over fifty thousand freedmen were settled before these courts. In many other States the number was still larger. At the beginning of the present year the contracting for labor was conducted in about the same way, as most of the States had failed to adopt labor laws that could be approved at this office.

A universal complaint arose throughout the South last January that the freedmen would not work, and that calamities unheard of were in waiting for the people of the South. A united effort was made on the part of all officers to secure harmonious relations between capital and labor.

Officers entered the field and personally labored from plantation to plantation, instructing the freedmen as to their duties, and disabusing their minds of many extravagant notions, explaining the true objects of this organization, and giving them practical instruction as to the methods by which they could rise socially and morally.

The result of this labor can be seen in every newspaper account that comes from the South. It is rarely that you see a complaint that freedmen will not work, or that the prospect for a crop is not good, so far as the labors of the freedmen can affect its prosperity. In not a few instances has this been admitted by the best men of the South. I have in my office many letters from the leading men (not politicians) bearing testimony to the great and good work performed by my officers in this way.

I have made this review of the past labors of my officers in this branch of their duties, as it is the only part of their work that has decreased. All other work, to which I shall call your attention, is as necessary now as ever, and should be carried on with vigor. I shall briefly allude to the present duties of Bureau officers in the administration of justice, to show that they are still charged with an important trust.

In the States where civil government exists, the agents of the Bureau are "instructed to act as the next friend of the freedmen in all courts, recognizing the supremacy of civil law, yet claiming the freedmen as wards of the Government, covering them with the shield of the United States laws and Bureau orders as far as possible. They are in every considerable town in the South, and are authorized and urged to protect the freedmen in this way. Any one acquainted with the Southern people knows that the presence of an advocate representing the United States Government has a great effect upon judges and juries, and checks the exercise of unjust power and the execution of partial and oppressive laws."

MARRIAGE.

The feeling that the negroes are not bound to solemnize the rite of marriage (the General says) still exists in many places, and all the debasing influence of concubinage would still disgrace the nation. Most of the States have legislated on this subject, yet the freedmen are to a great extent ignorant of the law, and need assistance in the way of instruction. The white citizens do not seem to take an interest in instructing the freedmen in the proper execution of this statute. Bureau officers attend to this matter.

APPRENTICE LAWS.

The apprentice and vagrant laws of the States are used in many localities for the oppression of the blacks, and anything less than the power with which an officer is now invested would fail to secure the freedmen from the evil effects of these laws, executed by men who fail to understand the rights of the freedmen.

CIVIL RIGHTS AND HOMESTEAD LAWS.

The Civil Rights bill passed by Congress, intended to protect the Union men of the South and freedmen, would at present fail in its objects without Bureau officers to aid in extending its provisions to all parts of the States. The bill extending to the freedmen of the South the benefits of the Homestead Law is materially aided in its execution by Bureau officers, who gather information of the lands and explain to the freedmen the advantages to be secured under this wise law.

RATIONS.

The following are the statistics with reference

to the number of rations issued to whites and blacks for one year: From June 1, 1865, to June 1, 1866, 2,901,767 rations were issued to whites, and 7,141,012 issued to freedmen

Another fact worthy of notice is the gradual decline in the number of rations received by freedmen, while there was a constant increase of dependent whites. Two hundred thousand more rations were issued to whites in May, 1866, the last month in the table, than in any other month. Throughout the South the issue of rations to whites and blacks is now about equal. The average number of people aided daily by this issue is about 45,000. A great deal has been done in the way of clothing to the extremely destitute by a distribution of old army clothing and goods captured from the enemy.

Rations issued by Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands to Refugees and Freedmen from June 1, 1865, to June 1, 1866.

NO. OF RATIONS ISSUED IN EACH MONTH.

Month.	To Refugees.	To Freedmen.	Total.
June, 1865.....	313,697	36,181	349,878
July, 1865.....	85,412	232,968½	318,380½
August, 1865.....	158,634	743,927	902,561
September, 1865.....	370,683	1,080,010	1,450,693
October, 1865.....	66,755	743,244	810,000
November, 1865.....	54,650½	648,479	703,129½
December, 1865.....	66,946	604,698½	671,644½
January, 1866.....	134,543	595,167½	729,710½
February, 1866.....	329,937½	648,188½	978,123
March, 1866.....	332,745½	646,366½	979,112
April, 1866.....	355,246	552,646½	907,892½
May, 1866.....	571,993	583,885	1,155,878
Total.....	2,901,767½	7,141,012	10,042,779½

NUMBER ISSUED IN EACH STATE FROM JUNE 1, 1865, TO JUNE 1, 1866.

State.	To Refugees.	To Freedmen.	Total.
Virginia.....	8,996	2,052,069½	2,061,065½
North Carolina.....	6,314	1,314,280	1,320,594
South Carolina.....	44,563	625,893	670,456
Georgia.....	19,462	537,778½	557,240½
Alabama.....	1,449,761	649,656	2,099,417
Florida.....	2,716	13,303	16,019
Mississippi.....	28,666½	329,532	358,198½
Louisiana.....	9,710½	370,007	379,717½
Texas.....	329	6,048	6,377
Mo. & Arkansas.....	1,153,033½	421,158	1,574,191½
Ky. & Tennessee.....	164,713	310,673	475,386
Dist. of Columbia.....	3,549	808,159	811,708
Total.....	2,901,767½	7,141,012	10,042,779½

MEDICAL WORK.

The medical work of the Bureau has been performed in the face of many obstacles, yet the benefit to the freedmen has been incalculable. The following figures will give some idea of the work:

Number of freedmen treated in all the States since the organization of the Bureau to June 1, 1866.....	143,643
Number died.....	10,286
Number remaining under treatment June 1, 1866.....	5,497
Number of refugees treated to June 1, 1866.....	5,683
Number of refugees died.....	329
Number of refugees remaining under treatment June 1, 1866.....	196
Small-pox cases average about six per cent. of the whole number.	
Number of freedmen treated in quarters.....	250,000
Number of freedmen blind.....	259
Number of freedmen deaf.....	49
Number of persons deaf and dumb.....	75

Number of refugees blind.....	18
Number of refugees deaf.....	18
Number of refugees deaf and dumb.....	4
Total of this class cared for.....	523

EDUCATION.

I next present the statistics of schools:

States.	No. of Schools.	No. of Teachers.	No. of Scholars.
Dist. of Columbia.....	74	133	6,552
Virginia.....	123	200	11,794
North Carolina.....	119	135	9,084
South Carolina.....	75	145	9,617
Georgia.....	79	113	7,792
Florida.....	36	51	2,663
Alabama.....	8	31	3,338
Mississippi.....	50	80	5,407
Louisiana.....	62	74	2,009
Texas.....	90	43	4,590
Kentucky.....	35	58	4,132
Tennessee.....	42	125	9,114
Arkansas.....	39	28	1,584
Missouri.....	33	46	2,696
Kansas.....	15	24	1,500
Maryland.....	26	101	8,144
Recapitulation.....	964	1,389	90,398

* South Carolina has 50 colored and 12 native teachers.

† Texas, 14 colored teachers.

South Carolina estimate, irregular schools.....	38
“ “ “ teachers.....	40
“ “ “ scholars.....	3,000
Louisiana estimate, irregular schools.....	11
“ “ “ teachers.....	16
“ “ “ scholars.....	386

It is claimed by some that these schools would be supported if the Bureau was withdrawn. In some places I think it very likely the freedmen would be allowed to continue schools. I believe the feeling of opposition to the improvement of the minds of the freedmen is constantly wearing away among all classes, yet the records of my office prove to my mind conclusively that the agents of this Bureau are the great support of the ninety thousand children who are attending schools at the South, and that an immediate withdrawal of these agents, or a failure on their part to uphold and defend this pioneer educational movement, would result fatally to the schools, or at least postpone for years any general educational system.—*N. Y. Evening Post.*

CO-OPERATION.

IN North Carolina a society has been organized upon the fundamental principles of this Commission. Its nature and objects are indicated by its constitution, which is as follows:

CONSTITUTION OF THE NORTH CAROLINA FREEDMEN'S EDUCATIONAL AND RELIEF SOCIETY, ORGANIZED AT RALEIGH, APRIL, 1866.

Art. 1. This society shall be known as the Educational and Relief Association of North Carolina.

Art. 2. The object of this association is to foster a system of public schools in this State which shall be free from all denominational bias, and from which none shall be excluded on account of color or poverty, and to assist in the mental and moral improvement of the communities generally (and to relieve, as far as possible, the temporal wants of the aged, maimed, and infirm).

Art. 3. Any adult who favors the above ob-

jects may become a member by signing this Constitution and contributing an initiation fee of one dollar; but no one will be entitled to vote who has contributed to the school fund less than one dollar for every quarter of the year preceding the election.

Art. 4. The officers shall be a president, vice-president, recording and corresponding secretary, treasurer, and six directors. The president, secretary, and treasurer shall be ex-officio members of the board of directors. The officers hereafter shall be chosen annually, on the first Monday in April, except that the directors shall be chosen two each year, to hold office for three years. In case of a vacancy occurring in any office, the directors shall appoint a *pro tem.* to hold office till the next annual meeting.

Art. 5. The secretary shall be the organ of the association in its intercourse with other similar associations; and it shall be his duty to encourage the spread of our principles throughout the State, by advising the formation of auxiliary associations to this.

Art. 6. The board of directors shall invite the co-operation of benevolent individuals and associations in establishing a system of public schools, and may provide public lecturers, etc. They shall require the treasurer to give security, and in general shall have full authority to conduct the affairs of the association, subject to its approval. But they shall not, without instructions, involve the association in debt, nor shall any of them receive any compensation from the treasury, as teacher, lecturer, or director.

Art. 7. There shall be a meeting on the first Monday in April, at which the treasurer shall present a written report. Other meetings may be called by the president or directors.

Art. 8. This constitution may be amended by a two-thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided that the proposed amendment has been recommended three months previous by the directors.

GLEAMS OF LIGHT FROM THE SOUTH.

WHILE there is much in Southern sentiment and action to discourage the friends of freedom and equal rights, we are glad to glean some indications of a better sentiment, some hopeful promises of a better future.

SCHOOLS AND SUFFRAGE.

We take the following from the Montgomery (Ala.) *Daily Advertiser* :—

"The Memphis *Post* (a radical paper) of the 16th inst. says: 'A large meeting of the colored people of Helena, Ark., was recently held to discuss the importance and best means of educating their children. It was addressed by Lieutenant Colby, the Superintendent of the colored schools for the State, by Hon. James A. Butler, and Judge Hanly, who was a member of the rebel congress. The judge took ground in favor of negro suffrage, declaring it the speediest and best way of getting over the difficulties of reconstruction. As for colored schools, he wished to be taxed, and to see all property taxed, for the education of black as well as white children.'"

"The African Episcopal Conference, Washington, has missions in six Southern States, and thirty-one traveling ministers have been sent South since the close of the war. The Conference proposes to employ at least fifty missionaries the present year."

SOUTH CAROLINA.

MR. SUMNER, the superintendent at Charleston, South Carolina, is systematic and thorough. His assistants, seventeen in number, are well chosen. Five of these are Northern ladies, who are really exemplary teachers and disciplinarians. These Northern teachers—each one the principal of a room—have the immediate oversight and control of the Southern. This arrangement works without friction. There appears to be the kindest feelings between the teachers, each one working in her own appropriate place, *satisfied* and zealous therein. Apart from this school, to which Mr. Sumner devotes his personal attention and labors, there are two others which are carried on wholly, or in part, by us, viz.: the Zion school and the Meeting Street school. The former is a large school, and under the exclusive direction and tutorage of colored people. It appears to be a decided success. The discipline and *modus operandi* are not as good as Mr. Sumner's; but, withal, the school, *as a fact*, reflects much credit upon the race. Mr. Hunter and Mr. Van Horn, the two principals, are very enthusiastic and determined. As you are aware, the Old School Presbyterian Church, in company with us, are supporting these teachers.

NORTH CAROLINA.

THE families of colored people, South, are being gradually reunited. Such advertisements as these are not uncommon, and seem to indicate human affection:

NOTICE 1—JENNIE GIDDINGS (COLORED), NOW living in Raleigh, wishes to hear from her son ISAAC JOYNES, who was living many years ago in Northampton County, Virginia. She would be thankful for information as to her son.
Raleigh, May 9, 1866. JENNIE GIDDINGS.

NOTICE 1—PETER AND PEGGY VINSON (COLORED), of Halifax County, wish to obtain information of their child, named EMMA, commonly called "Pess." She formerly belonged to Mr. Chas. Henderson, of Mississippi, and was brought and left by him in Lincolnton, N. C. She is dark complected, and about fourteen years of age. Any information will be gladly received by her parents at Brinkleyville, Halifax County, N. C., or by Caroline Hays, Exchange Hotel, Raleigh.

FLORIDA.

THERE are several missionaries in this State from the Methodist Society, and one from the Baptist, who are preaching and laboring among the colored people. Apart from what they have been doing, we know of no work of education or relief performed by Northern societies in Florida. Small pay schools for white scholars are opened in most of the towns, but we can hear of no movement to establish free schools for the poor white children, except one school of this character in Jacksonville, which has been aided by the Commission. This school is now in successful operation with about 100 scholars, mostly very poor.

BY-LAWS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

I. The regular meetings of the Executive Committee shall be held on the second Wednesday of each month.

II. Special meetings may be called by the General Secretary, or by three members of the Executive Committee; the notice for such meetings shall state the objects of the meeting.

III. All meetings of the Committee shall be notified in writing at least three days previous to the time of meeting.

IV. The Executive Committee shall elect its own Chairman, and the Corresponding Secretary shall be, *ex officio*, Clerk of the Committee.

In the absence of the Clerk, the Chairman shall appoint a substitute *pro tem*.

V. All special committees shall be appointed by the Chair, unless on motion to the contrary; and shall report, in writing, at the next meeting after their appointment, and at every successive meeting until the business for which they were appointed is finished.

VI. The Clerk of the Executive Committee shall send to the Chairman of each special committee, within twenty-four hours after its appointment, a copy of the resolution under which it is appointed, with the names of the members of the Committee, and a notice of all business referred to it.

VII. The Treasurer shall pay all regular and stipulated salaries when due, a statement of the salary being furnished by the Clerk; (all other bills, before being paid, shall be authorized or approved by the Executive Committee, or the Finance Committee;) and the Treasurer shall present at each regular meeting of the Executive Committee a statement showing the gross receipts and expenditures since the last meeting, and the balance on hand.

VIII. No officer, agent, or member of the Commission shall be authorized to open any running account, or involve the Commission in any expense, not previously authorized or provided for by the Executive Committee or the Finance Committee. All agents and officers must present to the Executive Committee a monthly statement of all expenditures and obligations incurred by them during the preceding month. The Commission will not hold itself responsible for any claim not included in such monthly report.

IX. PUBLICATIONS.—All circulars, or other official publications in the name of the Commission, shall be issued under the direction of the Executive Committee.

X. The following shall be the general order of business of the Committee:

1. Reading the minutes of the last regular meeting of the Committee, and all intervening meetings.
2. Statement of the Treasurer, including the action of the Committee on Finance.
3. Reports of Select Committees.
4. Reports of the Secretaries.
5. Unfinished business.
6. New business—proposed by any member of the Executive Committee.

XI. STANDING COMMITTEES.—There shall be a Finance Committee, consisting of two members, who shall be authorized, when exigencies require, to make expenditures between the meet-

ings of the Executive Committee, not to exceed one thousand dollars, to be reported in writing, at the next meeting of the Committee.

XII. An Agency Committee shall be appointed, to consist of three members, one of whom shall be a Secretary of the Commission. They shall be authorized to employ agents for the collection of funds, and the promotion of the general interests of the Commission—subject to the approval of the Executive Committee.

XIII. All officers and members of the Commission, when present at the meetings of the Committee, shall be entitled to share in its deliberations.

XIV. These By-Laws may be amended by a two-thirds vote of the members present at any regular meeting of the Committee, notice having been given of the proposed change at the previous meeting, and introduced into the convening call.

DUTIES OF SECRETARIES.

1. THE GENERAL SECRETARY of the Commission shall be its general Executive officer; all reports of Branches, Agents or Agencies shall be presented to the Executive Committee through him; he shall prepare for the Executive Committee its Annual Report of its operations and condition, and, under its direction, lay before the public such information as may be required in the prosecution of the work of the Commission.

2. THE CORRESPONDING SECRETARY shall have charge of the Central Office, its records and correspondence; and applications made to that office for employment as teachers, or agents, shall be made through him, and commissions issued from it shall be attested by him.

EDUCATION AND RELIGION.

WE desire to present for the consideration of the public, and especially of Christian philanthropists, the question: What method will best promote the cause of popular education and pure religion in the South? The necessity of both is almost universally recognized. Neither can take the place of the other. Education unsanctified by religion issues in infidelity and anarchy. Religion unenlightened by education begets superstition and despotism. The school-house without the church produces China; the church without the school-house, Italy; the church *and* the school-house, Republican America.

How to combine these two is an important problem. There are two possible solutions. The religious denominations may undertake the double work. They may plant the parochial school by the side of the church; they may teach at once the rules of arithmetic and the lessons of the catechism, the laws of grammar and the doctrines of theology. Such a system gives parochial schools. On the other hand, the various religious denominations may assume as their peculiar province the work of religious instruction. To that they may confine themselves, while the whole community unites in a common effort for the education of the masses, not only in secular knowledge, but in those precepts of morality and teachings of the Christian religion in which all agree. This system gives the common-school. It is the almost universal system of Protestant Republicanism.

It is not necessary to discuss the respective advantages of these two methods. The general question has long since been settled by the test of actual experiment. Wherever the cause of

popular education prospers, its prosperity is rooted in the common-school system. Where the parochial system is pursued, the cause both of religion and education suffers.

In Holland, whence we have largely borrowed our institutions of civil and religious liberty, the schools are carefully guarded from all sectarian influence. The teachers, though giving general religious instruction, are forbidden to teach the doctrines of any particular denomination. Calvinist and Lutheran, Arminian and Socinian, Protestant and Catholic unite in the common-school. In Switzerland, and generally throughout Germany, a similar result is attained by different means; for though education in Christian doctrine is there afforded in the schools, the hours for religious and secular instruction are carefully kept separate, and the religious instruction is imparted by the pastors of the congregations to which the pupils severally belong. In Ireland, for many years, the schools were under the control of the Church of England, and the children of the Roman Catholics, who constituted six-sevenths of the population, were thus in effect excluded. At length, after nearly thirty years of agitation, an unsectarian board of education has been established, representing Protestants, Catholics, Orthodox and Unitarians, under whose direction a system of national schools has been organized free from ecclesiastical control. After a long and heated discussion this principle is universally adopted in the Northern States of America. The common-school is jealously defended from all sectarian influence. Only those religious precepts and principles are inculcated which are of universal acceptance, while education in theological doctrines is left to the church and the Sunday-school. There is no place where this distinction between religious and secular instruction is more rigidly maintained than in the Northern States of America—none where the cause both of religion and of education better flourishes.

While such is the favorable result of undenominational education, we are not left without a testimony as to the effect of the other system. We need not refer to Roman Catholic countries. In Scotland (we quote from an official report) "the parish schools have proved quite inadequate to the educational wants of the country, and are defective and objectionable in consequence of the smallness of the class invested with the patronage, the limited portion of the community from which the teachers are selected, the general inadequacy of their remuneration, and the system of management applicable to schools under church control."

In England, the absence of an efficient system of public instruction has left the poor mainly dependent on parish schools. 'Almost every Christian congregation has established them. But as they are generally planted in connection with the houses of worship, and without co-operation between the sects, in many districts they are closely crowded together, while other districts are left destitute. There are, for example, eight of them in one district of Manchester within the radius of a little over a quarter of a mile; and four of them in another district not more than two or three hundred yards apart. The result is empty rooms, dispirited teachers, and an unprofitable investment of money and expenditure of labor.*

This witness does not stand alone. Drs. Chalmers, Hook, Davidson, Vaughan, Taylor of Trinity College, Nicoll of Glasgow University, Archbishop Whately and John Stuart Mill, are but a few among the many who, familiar with the parochial school system, have given their testimony in favor of the substitution of public schools, not under ecclesiastical control, nor attempting to afford specific religious instruction.

When Emancipation first rendered dependent upon us so many helpless sufferers, all Christians made haste to their assistance, and ecclesiastical societies vied with unsectarian associations in the work of physical relief and secular education. To the honor of the church be it said that no denomination was deaf to the call of humanity and God. These special and localized efforts have done much for the relief and education of the Freedman. But now, in order to perpetuate the results already attained, to secure the greatest amount of good with the least expenditure in the future, to avoid duplication of charities and rivalry of societies, and, above all, to establish a permanent self-sustaining and growing system of popular education, modelled upon the patterns afforded by past experience, a more perfect organization and a more systematic

* Condensed from a lecture of Rev. W. McKerrow, before the Public School Association of Lancashire, England.

division of labor are required; and especially is it necessary that we should draw with some precision the lines which separate the work of the ecclesiastical from that of the philanthropic associations, and determine whether acting through denominational agencies we will content ourselves with such parochial schools as they may establish, or whether, assigning to them that more distinct missionary work which is quite sufficient to absorb all their energies, we will combine in one national and unsectarian organization for the establishment in the Southern States of that common-school system which is the glory and the safety of our country. Already the various undenominational Freedmen's societies have united to form such an organization, in the American Freedmen's Union Commission, a commission which embraces representatives of all denominations, includes constituent societies in all parts of the North, and during the past year has sustained over seven hundred teachers, and instructed over forty thousand pupils. Recognizing no distinctions of caste or color, it devotes its energies mainly to this one work, the promotion of popular education in the South.

The education of the South, especially of the Freedmen, is a truly religious work; none the less so because it is undenominational. Cousin rightly says, "The less we desire our schools to be ecclesiastical, the more ought they to be Christian." Called to this work not only by the claims of country and of humanity but also by the voice of God, recognizing it as His work, entering upon it in humble trust on Him, aiming by it to render the subjects of our education better fitted to be not only citizens of the Republic but children of our Father in heaven, we desire the more that our schools may be truly Christian because they are unecclesiastical. For this purpose we aim to commission only teachers possessing the spirit of true religion, by which we do not mean persons of any particular doctrinal views, but such as are attracted to the work, not by curiosity, or love of adventure, or its compensation, but by a genuine spirit of love for God and man; for this purpose our schools are opened with such general religious exercises as our experience in the North proves it practicable for all Christians to unite in; for this purpose in all the schools instruction is afforded in the fundamental duties of the Christian religion as inculcated in the command, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and soul and strength, and thy neighbor as thyself;" no less for this purpose do we jealously maintain their unsectarian character, not allowing the peculiar tenets of any particular denomination to be taught in the schools.

While we thus aim to establish a school system which, strictly unecclesiastical and yet genuinely Christian, shall afford a sure foundation for sound morality and pure religion, we rejoice in all the good which the churches are doing by the inculcation of more specific religious truth, for the redemption of the suffering, down-trodden, and degraded in the South. We recognize the importance of their work. Individually participating in their labors in our respective churches, we are always ready as a commission to co-operate with them in all legitimate ways. We are not and can not be their rivals. We are their coadjutors in a common cause. For every faithful church promotes the cause of popular education; and popular education is the ally of the Christian Church.

As reviving industry renders less imperative the demands for physical relief, the cause of education increases in relative importance, and the establishment of common schools open to all classes in all the Southern States becomes our most important work. The want is pressing, the necessity urgent, the work gigantic, the difficulties many. Only a united effort can accomplish a task so difficult. We ask, then, the careful attention of all friends of religion and education to the distinction which we have in this paper attempted to set forth, and cordially invite all to unite with us in one common effort to secure this great end—the establishment throughout the Republic, upon permanent foundations, of COMMON SCHOOLS for the education of all without distinction of sect, caste, or color.

On behalf of the American Freedmen's Union Commission.

REV. LYMAN ABBOTT, REV. E. H. CANFIELD, D.D., REV. O. B. FROTHINGHAM, FRANCIS R. COPE, NATHAN BISHOP, LL.D.,	}	Special Committee.
--	---	--------------------

